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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

HOLY RUSSIA

The world shall be made new
  Since thou hast found thy soul;
There shall be freedom for the Jew
  And justice for the Pole.
Finland's chain shall break
  As breaks the ice in spring,
And spirits like the birds awake
  That were too sad to sing.

Throughout the troubled earth
  Prophetic tremors run.
It is the travail of the birth
  Of Freedom's youngest son.
Dreams that have been as dead
  Rise glorious from the grave
As throb to the deliverer's tread
  The pulses of the slave.

Torch of the Holy Fires,
  Lead us along our way,
Up to the vision of our sires
  That we have cloaked with clay,
Humbly we yield to thee
  The glory of the van.
Lead on, where calls through liberty
  The brotherhood of man!

—*Amelia Josephine Burr.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, JULY 17, 1917 Number 20

AMERICA, 1919

Lincoln, thou shouldst be living at this hour;
America hath need of thee. To save
The future we invoke the past—the deeds
And spirit of thyself and Washington.
When thou didst grapple with resistant evil,
No luxury of secret compromise
Didst thou endure; thy vital problem must
Be solved, not compromised.
Emancipation was thy task,
Divinely set and sacredly performed.
But thou didst war against the thing, and when
It was destroyed, the victory was won;
Thy enemies became thy brothers as of yore.
And now the decimated world, bleeding and weak,
Begs freedom from the age-long slavery of war.
Lincoln, thou shouldst be living at this hour,
To heed the call and thwart the secret group
Who (self-appointed gods) for mastery over men
Would make a devil's league with war.
We have no Lincoln now, who squares his words
With deeds; who seeks God's sunshine for his stage,
Nor sees ambition's image mirrored in his phrase.
Bestir thy spirit, Lincoln, make it potent here.
A billion souls cry out for bread and get a stone.
They would prevent, not win, the next great war.
Does justice house itself with blood? Is life so tame
In peace that youth must fight to death to be a man?
Must reason yield to gun and torch when nations disagree?
All other forms of murder are a crime save war;
The diplomats' commandment keeps it lawful still.
The curse of war remains, the worst of all,
To uphold power and subjugate mankind.
And so through blood and anguish we will struggle on,
Until thy peer, O mighty Lincoln, effacing war by law,
Emboldens common men to work their will and rule the world.

S. O. Levinson.

The all-sufficient indictment of the work of the Paris Peace Conference is the defense that is being offered by those who would have us adopt the Treaty and the Covenant. The Conference has achieved the best that could be expected under the conditions prevailing in Europe—if the Germans had won, they would have imposed upon the Allies a peace infinitely more terrible than this which they are now themselves obliged to accept—if President Wilson had forced his will upon his colleagues, or, failing this, had come home in outrage and disgust, he would have overthrown existing governments and handed over the continent to the chaos of Bolshevism—the Treaty, after all, is only a beginning; its errors will be corrected later on by the League, which has been created for the express purpose of international adjustment and conciliation! Such are the pleas which are being offered today in justification of the work of the Paris Conference, and more particularly in defense of the part played therein by President Wilson! And all of them, as can be readily seen, are unblushingly based upon the undisputed concession that the Conference has failed in its mission, that it has not accomplished what it was expected to do, that the fine ideals, for the sake of which military conscription was established and millions of young men sent to horrible suffering and death, have turned, like the apples of Sodom, to dust and ashes. Nobody contends, in other words, that the world has been made "safe for democracy." The best friends of the President agree that he set himself a task in his Fourteen Points which was impossible of accomplishment. But if this is so clearly seen today, why was it not at least suspected or feared yesterday? Must it not have been known all along to such astute and experienced Europeans as Lloyd George, Balfour, Clemenceau and Sonnino, if not to Mr. Wilson? And if so, how did these men, armed with their secret treaties, dare to appeal to their countrymen in the name of international idealism? The one thing that can make a war in any way respectable, is the fulfilment of high aims to which noble men have deliberately dedicated their lives. Abraham Lincoln called upon the North to fight the Civil War that the Union might be saved; and when the War was done, the Union *was* saved. The outcome of the Paris Conference, when measured by the war claims of its leaders, marks this event not only as a failure, but as one of the gigantic moral tragedies of history. J. H. H.

If the League of Nations Covenant has the support today of a majority of the citizens of this country, it is because they believe in the idea of a league, and assume, as they are told by men who ought to know better, and some of whom do know better, that the Covenant represents a fulfillment of this idea. If they were asked to have America join an armed alliance of military states, to lend her army and navy for the settlement of the quarrels of European imperialists, to give her political and economic strength for the support of a new balance of power, they would repudiate the suggestion upon the instant. Not a handful of American citizens, outside the comparatively small group of tories and junkers, could be found to support such a nefarious scheme. And yet this is exactly the thing which is contained within the Paris Covenant! The so-called League of Nations is not a league at all—to call it such is either gross ignorance or deliberate deception. It is simply and solely an alliance of imperialistic powers for the political and economic control of the world. Stripped of all camouflage, it is the latest scheme for the conquest of mankind. It should be presented as such, and stand or fall upon its merits. J. H. H.

Persons interested in the Negro problem in this country may well make note of the new radical movement which is now rapidly coming to the fore among our colored brethren. Long years of oppression through disfranchisement, "Jim Crow" laws, segregation policies, lynching, economic discrimination, etc., coupled with the bitter experiences incident to the Great War, have raised up a group of young men and women in the Negro ranks who are impatient with the old leaders of the race, of both the Booker Washington and Du Bois school, and are clamoring for more aggressive action along lines of uncompromising social radicalism. These militants are most of them Socialists, and thus represent not only extreme revolt against racial oppression, but also the appearance among Negroes of that same movement of political and economic revolution which is now sweeping the world from end to end. Just how powerful this new group is today, we do not know; but it is largely represented in New York and other great cities, has a journalistic organ, *The Messenger,* which is of exceptionally high standard, and is pushing a vigorous and determined campaign, especially in the North. It is too early, as yet, to estimate the significance of this sudden appearance among colored people of this movement for radical social change, but that it marks the entrance of the Negro problem upon a wholly new period of development, is not altogether unlikely. Startling events may certainly be anticipated if any considerable portion of the rising generation of blacks has discovered that the problem of the colored people in America is not something distinctively apart by itself, but is caught up in the very fiber and tissue of that one great economic problem which is convulsing all mankind. J. H. H.

A perpetually amazing phenomenon is the cruelty of the crowd. An individual man is normally kind, but multiply this man by a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand, and his kindness straightway disappears. A sort of monster is born, subject to monstrous emotions and capable of monstrous deeds. See a group of school-boys, for example, torturing a maimed or abnormal playmate. Watch a baseball crowd baiting an umpire or an unpopular player. Think of an army invading a hostile country, or a mob sweeping to a lynching bee. Recall a country beset by war-madness, organizing a vast machinery of persecution for non-conformity.

"We who started out to fight this Prussian pack," writes John Galsworthy, in his latest novel, *Saint's Progress,* "have caught the pack feeling—have got it hunting all over the country, on every sort of scent. . . . I see all human nature now, running with gaping mouths and red tongues lolling out, their breath and their cries spouting thick before them. On whom they will fall next—one never knows; the innocent with the guilty."

No single man would ever do what the crowd does with gleeful ferocity. The problem of life, in this age of close-knit social organization, is perhaps that of disciplining the mob to the ethical standards of the single individual. J. H. H.

To those who remember the long fight of the Asquith ministry in England for the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, it is something of a surprise, to say the least, to learn that the Church of England is now voluntarily seeking separation from the state. A bill, entitled "The National Assembly of the Church of England Bill," has been laid before Parliament, granting the establishment, the liberty and power to legislate for its own government through an assembly to be created for the purpose. Ecclesiastical power is to be substituted in place of parliamentary power in affairs religious. There are provisions in the bill to maintain the control of the Crown and Parliament, but it is expected that such control would be purely nominal. As a matter of fact, the Church of England, under this proposed arrangement, would be separated from the state and allowed to manage independently its own affairs. All of which looks like disestablishment—until it is discovered that the Church proposes to retain unimpaired its huge public endowments and properties! In other words, the Church of England is seeking to rid itself of all the disadvantages of the established order, and preserve all the special privileges. No wonder that the Congregational Union has taken the ground that so long as the Church enjoys the financial and other advantages of establishment, so long must its affairs remain under the control of government. Disestablishment is of course "a consummation devoutly to be wished," but it must be a disestablishment which is thorough-going. The nonconformists of England, sturdy victors in many a hard-fought fray, may be trusted to see to it that no such heads-I-win-tails-you-lose policy as the above is enacted into law. J. H. H.

It is pleasant to read of the recent assembling of the National Federation of Musical Clubs at Peterborough, New Hampshire, in renewed homage to Edward MacDowell, who had his home in this lovely New England town. For MacDowell is beyond all question the one great musical composer thus far contributed to the world by America. His "Indian Suite" stands high in the repertoire of the modern orchestra. His piano concertos and sonatas are among the greatest compositions for that instrument which have been anywhere produced in recent years. But it is in his shorter piano pieces and songs that the real genius of the man is perhaps most evident. Here is the poet who saw the grandeur of the sea, felt the beauty of the woodlands and the open fields, pondered the mys-

teries of night. Here also is the seer who, in nature and the human heart alike, found that spirit of all loveliness and truth which is the evidence of God. There is the magic of Tennyson, the simplicity of Wordsworth, now and then the ecstatic raptures of Shelley, in Edward MacDowell—and all revealed in tones instead of words. The Musical Clubs do well to associate their meetings with the memory and the shrine of this composer, for it is through the preservation and cultivation of his spirit that America may yet make supreme contribution to the realm of music.

J. H. H.

The Christian Advocate, a Methodist journal of New York, speaking of the Community Church, remarks that "the transformation of a full-orbed church of Christ into a mere community center would appear to be a narrowing of field and a limitation of service." Such a statement as this would be astonishing at any time, but what shall we think of it in this age when world problems are the almost exclusive topics of conversation in the remotest village hamlet as well as the greatest metropolitan city? For four years, now, every newspaper has carried European news in the first column of its front page; every schoolhouse has echoed with appeals for patriotism interpreted in terms of service and sacrific in lands across the sea; every board-fence and barn-door have flaunted posters advertising liberty loans and war savings stamps for the support of civilization. And yet here is a religious journal which thinks of a community as a narrow social group shut off from the world, and community service as a narrow routine of parochial activity! It might be well to remember that the Community Church movement is a phenomenon of the twentieth century, not of the fifteenth; and that the community, therefore, represents the unit center of that vast social democratic organism, into which the whole of mankind is today being surely and swiftly integrated. In serving and expressing the life of the local community, the Community Church is beginning a work which reaches in the end to the uttermost bounds of earth.

J. H. H.

The Peace Terms

The right and duty of every citizen in our land must be maintained and exercised in earnest consideration of the peace terms before they are ratified by Congress. The future of humanity is at stake; the welfare of our people depends vitally upon the action our legislature will take; and the moment is come when America must choose whether she will give her support to a policy of imperialism and armaments, or to one of democracy and peace. It is unnecessary for UNITY to devote any of its limited space to the publication of the case for the treaty and the covenant, nor is it incumbent on us to enter into the question of the Monroe doctrine, for all these aspects of the document are treated fully in Congress, in the press and on the platform. Great organizations, with almost unlimited funds, present the case for the treaty and the covenant to all and sundry. It is to the case of those who are in opposition, not to peace terms or a league of nations, but to these particular peace terms and this particular covenant, that we believe the pages of UNITY should be devoted. And in the name of freedom, tolerance and truth we desire no statement to appear that bears the stain of prejudice, or rancor, or hypocrisy. To this end we have selected from a great mass of European opinion, adverse to the treaty and the document, two letters of men of world-wide reputation, for whose attributes this paper has maintained its policy, men whose lives have been devoted to the causes which we believe in, and hope shall triumph. These letters bear the hallmarks of sanity, nobility and understanding. They are from the pens of men who have devoted their lives to learning, who have seen pass from great universities the flower of Britain's youth to early graves made in the seared and torn battlefields of the old war-worn world. These men have undoubted right to claim our attention. G. Lowes Dickinson, Fellow and Lecturer, King's College, Cambridge, presents his views of the treaty and the covenant to us in a letter published by the *Manchester Guardian;* so, in a letter to the same paper, does Charles Sarolea, First Lecturer and head of French and Romance Department in the University of Edinburgh, lay before us his reasons for opposing the treaty and the covenant. Sarolea is the editor of *Everyman.* His scholarship is as wide as it is world famous. By birth a Belgian, by work, aim and travel a citizen of the world who loves mankind. These letters from Dickinson and Sarolea are, we consider, contributions of vast importance to this world question:

MR. G. LOWES DICKINSON'S LETTER.

Sir: On several occasions during the earlier period of the war, you were good enough to permit me to set forth in your columns the principles and organization which, as I maintained with what was then a very small minority, could alone guarantee to the world a lasting peace of justice. A League of Nations was not at that time a popular idea, and perhaps it would never have entered the range of practical policy had it not been adopted by the humane and far-seeing sagacity of President Wilson. It was impossible after his intervention to treat the idea with open hostility. But those who were opposed to it did not abandon their opposition. They merely adopted a more deadly strategy; they still pursued a peace of violence and conquest, but they thought it more prudent to accommodate their design to the formula of a league. That is the inner meaning of the tragedy that has been consummated at Paris. The old diplomacy, the old

tradition, the old men have triumphed. The young, the hopeful, the faithful, the believers in humanity and right are dismissed with the anatomy of a document into which the breath of life can hardly be breathed.

In saying this I make no attack upon President Wilson. He did, I have no doubt, the best he could under impossible conditions. But he was outplayed by the statesmen of Europe, and left with the alternatives either of withdrawing from the Conference or of sanctioning what he must feel to be violations of the whole spirit, if not of the actual letter, of his fourteen points. Nor do I attack the form of the Covenant that founds the League of Nations; it is, indeed, in many important respects imperfect and unsatisfactory, but perhaps, as human affairs go, it was bound to be so. The idea is new. It conflicts with long-established feelings, prejudices and illusions. It must make its way, if at all, by degrees, amidst the tangle of concrete conditions, and can only finally establish itself by its proved success. Had there been nothing to criticize in the peace but the form of the Covenant the world would have been fortunate indeed, and the prospects of the future brighter than any that have ever opened upon mankind.

But the Covenant is rendered impotent for good—if not converted into a positive evil—by the other terms of the treaty. A League of Nations is nothing, and perhaps worse than nothing, unless it be an instrument of reconciliation. But reconciliation is ruled out by the terms imposed upon Germany. Has the public realized what they are? Large populations of Germans in Posen, West Prussia, Silesia and the Saar Valley are transferred to an alien and hostile rule. The whole of the German colonial domain is distributed among the Allies, subject only to what (it is to be feared) will be but the bare name of a "mandate" given by a league whose executive is completely controlled by the annexing states. In a reasonable world, it is true, the mere right to administer territory would not be coveted by any nation so long as all were allowed equal economic access. But of that Germany is given no guarantee; so far as she can see, or as we can see, she may be deprived of all access to overseas markets and of all raw materials from abroad. At the best her access will depend on the caprice or self-interest of her enemies. In addition, she is deprived of three-quarters of her iron and a third of her coal. And then, on the top of all this, she is to be set to work under duress for a period calculated as thirty years, during which she is to pay over to her enemies sums of which the lower limit is five thousand million pounds, but which may, in fact, as Mr. Bonar Law assures us, exceed that sum to any indefinite amount which a commission of her enemies may choose to assess.

No such terms have ever been imposed upon a defeated nation since Rome destroyed Carthage. What was done to France in 1815, after twenty years of aggression, in the course of which she had brought the whole of Europe under her domination, was a bagatelle in comparison. What was done to France in 1871 was a bagatelle in comparison. It is no exaggeration to say that Germany is converted into a helot nation. And the first and main function of a league ostensibly created as the organ of equal justice and equal opportunity will be to act as gaoler and slave master to seventy millions of sullen, despairing, half-starving men, women and children camped in the very heart of Europe.

Quite reputable people publicly state in defence that Germany, if she had won, would have treated us worse. What is this but a naive confession that our standards are, in fact, the German standards, and that we are applying to her the very philosophy which we professed to be fighting to eradicate from the world? Or it is said that Germany "deserves" her punishment. But punishment, whatever its purposes, is not an end in itself, still less the supreme end, and a policy which, in order to punish, is ready to destroy the whole future of civilization is the policy of lunatics, not of sane men. Or it is said that the reparation exacted is not excessive. Probably not. In such wars as modern men wage no reparation attainable could begin to suffice. But reparation which can only be exacted, if at all, at the cost of lasting ill-will is a reparation better not exacted. It would be better to forego it altogether than to hand over the world to such prospects as the Peace of Paris opens out.

The evil is done. Is there any remedy? Perhaps not. Perhaps the die has been finally cast and civilization is doomed. But if there be any remedy it must be sought in those elements of society which consistently throughout the war and since the armistice have stood for a pacific and reconciling policy. If there is any hope for the world it is in the Labor and Socialist parties. In them, and, one would fain hope, in the young—in those who, returning from a war which has slain their comrades by millions, have not yet been able to seize the significance of events, to realize how they have been betrayed at Paris, nor to lay an effective hand upon the machinery of government. Paris has finally discredited the governing class in all countries. What Paris has done must be undone if civilization is to be saved. And only youth and the masses can undo it.

MR. CHARLES SAROLEA'S LETTER.

Sir: Whatever may be the merits of the peace settlement, no one will claim for it either the merit of coherence or of consistency. It embodies policies which are mutually exclusive. It asserts principles which are contradictory. It proclaims the rights of the small nations, but it establishes a dictatorship of the strong. It seeks the moral and juridical security of the League of Nations, and it also seeks the military security of strategic frontiers. It sets up Poland as the cornerstone of Central Europe, but it sets up the new Polish State under conditions which condemn it to a precarious and ephemeral existence. It reduces Germany to poverty and impotence, and it then expects her to discharge obligations which only a healthy and a wealthy state could possibly discharge. Thrice blessed be the inspiration which impelled President Wilson to insist on having the League of Nations established before the peace settlement. For the main task of the League of Nations in future years will be to "interpret"—that is to say, to mend and to end the hasty patchwork done in Paris for the last six months.

As a Belgian by birth, whose household gods have been destroyed, and who has been financially ruined by the deeds of individual Germans, I cannot be accused of any tender feelings for the enemy. And as a student of international politics of many years' standing who clearly foresaw and foretold the tragedy

long before it happened, I may claim that my views shall not be dismissed without discussion. But however these views may be regarded, whether popular or unpopular, I think it my duty as a citizen to state unambiguously the specific reasons why I believe the peace settlement to be eminently unsatisfactory and pregnant with fateful consequences.

Starting with the popular assumption on the responsibility for the war, an assumption which stands at the very heart and center of the Paris deliberations, I confess that I cannot look upon this world convulsion merely as a kinematic melodrama, with consummate villains on the one side and innocent heroes on the other. Rather I do consider it as a Sophoclean or Shakespearean tragedy where all the actors are driven on to their doom by inexorable forces. The Shakespeare of a future generation, who will dramatize the catastrophe, will certainly refuse to see in Germany a free agent; he will see in her a vicarious and sacrificial victim, burdened with a sinister political inheritance, cursed with a dynasty of Atreides; he will see in her mainly the champion of evil principles and evil policies defended fanatically and criminally by patriotic and brave men. But that same dramatist will also have to recognize that all the nations were in some measure involved in the guilt and partakers of the crime, that they one and all professed the same principles and acted on the same policies as long as those policies proved successful, and, to them, profitable.

Most of our historical investigations on the origins of the war are singularly and crudely unhistorical. Mr. Headlam in England and M. Reinach in France have written able and misleading treatises on the events of the fateful "twelve days." But obviously the war was not the outcome of the events of "twelve days" nor of twelve years. It is the culmination of events which politically had their beginnings as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century, in the invasion of Silesia and the partition of Poland. By restoring Silesia we are undoing the events of 1740; by restoring Poland we are undoing the events of 1772. Nor is this war rooted only in a few diplomatic and political causes; it is rooted in a hundred and one causes, economic, religious, geographical, as well as political and diplomatic. These causes making for war were operative everywhere. If they were more "dynamic" in Germany, it is mainly because the German people were politically a hundred years behind us whilst economically they were fifty years ahead of us; it is also because the German people were more passionately patriotic than their enemies, and because they practiced more consistently the three theological virtues of blind faith, passive obedience and patient endurance. All the causes suggested made Germany the initiator of *this* war. But those same causes had made other nations initiate within the last generation no less than ten other wars, with none of which "Prussian militarism" had anything to do.

And even assuming Germany and Austria to have been solely responsible for *this* crime, we must acknowledge that Europe generally and Great Britain in particular were in the past the accomplices of "Prussian militarism." Before 1900 it is Germany and not France which earned our unstinted sympathies. It is Bismarck and not Gambetta who was glorified as the super-statesman. Even our theologians repaired to the German universities as to the fountains of wisdom. It is true that Prussia stole Poland, but the very Prussian armies which conquered Poland were paid with British subsidies, as Lord Eversley has once more proved. It is true that Prussia stole Slesvig-Holstein, but we connived at the deed. It is true that Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine, but Great Britain did not utter one word of protest, and Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone turned a deaf ear to the pathetic appeals of Thiers. It is true that the annexation of Bosnia started the train which led up to the explosion. But Lord Salisbury and Mr. A. J. Balfour were the "loyal secundants" of Bismarck and Andrassy at the Treaty of Berlin, which surrendered Bosnia, and today after forty-one years Mr. Balfour is only undoing what as a young diplomat he helped to accomplish in 1878. It is true that the alliance of Germany and Austria with Turkey became the cornerstone of Pan-German policy; but that same alliance with Turkey was until recently the cornerstone of our own policy, and it is that alliance which maintained the chaos of the Balkans.

But let us grant that not only Prussia but the whole of Germany is responsible for the crime of the war. What do we mean by the abstraction "Germany"? The Congress of Vienna did distinguish between Napoleon and the French people. Must we not establish a similar distinction? Shall we not say that in the last resort this war was even more a crime against the German people than a crime of the German people? If it be objected that German public opinion was wholly favorable to the war, I reply that there was not, there could not be, an independent public opinion in Germany. We know how easy it is even in a free country like ours to manufacture an artificial public opinion. How much easier in Germany, where the churches and the universities and the banks and the press were in the service of the State. How much easier to hoodwink a docile and disciplined people, a sentimental and a passionate people, carried away by that fiery patriotism which all nations still agree to consider as the highest of all virtues. The German people had not one single word to say in the declaration or initiation of the war. And once war was declared, once Prussia was invaded, how far was it possible even for the Socialists not to submit to military law?

Let us even admit that the German people must pay the penalty of the sins of their own government, that every nation have the government they deserve, that they therefore must be punished for submitting to the countless atrocities perpetrated by their rulers, even that admission does not settle either our moral or political peace problem. By all means let the innocent Germans suffer *with* the guilty. Unfortunately under the peace settlement it is not the innocent that are suffering *with* the guilty; it is mainly the innocent who are chastised. We are punishing not the Germany of Kaiserism, but the Germany of democracy. We are punishing not the past or even the present generation, we are punishing the untold millions of young lads and children who will be reduced by the peace settlement to industrial helotry, who will become hewers of wood and drawers of water for the conquering nations.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

CONTRIBUTED

Effect of the Great War on Religion

It is reported that there is to be a great revival of interest in religion as the result of the war in Europe. The claim is being made, too, that Christianity is to make a remarkable progress from the same cause. Taking all the evidence on the subject together, it would appear that this revival, if there is to be one, is not towards ecclesiastical and dogmatic Christianity; but in quite another direction. To a large degree this evidence appears to indicate that the tendency is to a simple, concrete, practical and undogmatic religion. The primary, unritualistic and ethical type of religion is likely to make the greatest impression on the years immediately before us.

Several reasons may be given for the belief that religion in the coming years will take a new direction, rather away from than within the churches. To a very considerable extent the war has loosened men's minds from the old ritualistic and dogmatic types of Christianity. Such is the impression made on many soldiers as the result of their contact with organized religion during the war, and as a resulting effect of the war itself. What the men who were facing death, wounds and the strain of conflict demanded was something human, sincere, unqualifiedly honest, without cant and formality; and this kind of religion in no small degree they have failed to encounter. The result has been a developing distrust of chaplains, churches, formal religion of all kinds. These men in great numbers have been driven back to what is instinctive, primal, unconventional. What they have come to desire is that kind of religion seen in good deeds, in fidelity of life, in the spirit of comradeship, in an honest and daring facing of life and its problems. Of that kind of religion there is much evidence showing that there may be a great revival. Perhaps it would be truer to say that there will be an awakening to the need and the importance of that kind of religion.

The fact should not be ignored, too, that the attitude of the churches in this country, and in even a greater degree in the other countries, has not been such as to inspire faith in their sincerity. To a very large extent they have abandoned Christianity for patriotism. They have been committed to a brutal, revengeful and savage lust for war, and all the worst that war demands. The demands of love, forgiveness, mercifulness have in large degree been cast aside and condemned as standing in the way of a true patriotism. The most cruel, harsh and revengeful demands made in behalf of war have come from Christian pulpits on both sides. Any suggestion of sympathy towards enemies or any hint of forgiveness to seventy times seven, as was once taught, has been severely condemned. It has been declared to be not only unpatriotic, but unchristian. All the milder, humane and humanitarian features of Christianity have been cast aside as unworthy, and no longer in harmony with the demands of war time.

Those persons and sects who have tried to live up to what they regarded as Christian teaching in the way of non-resistance, forgiveness and regard to the rights of all peoples, have been persecuted and imprisoned, perhaps driven from their homes with great loss. The humanitarianism which Christianity was supposed to represent has been abolished as an evil and as the worst heresy. Men who hold themselves to be Christians, who accept the creeds of the churches, and who find in Christianity the foundation facts of the ethical life, have sent their fellow Christians to prison for even so many as twenty years; and because they wished to live as consistent Christians.

Who can have watched these developments of the last five years without coming to marvel at what war can accomplish in the way of hatred, revengefulness and lust of power! Even those men who were quite outside any active participation in the war itself have seemed to lose the spirit of good-will and charitableness which had been growing in the world before the war began. In no small degree these preachers, editors and reformers have betrayed their old convictions and have become blood-thirsty in words, at least. If they once leaned to mercy's side, they have recently become as ravening wolves only too often.

What war is capable of has been shown in supremest degree in the last five years. Not only have 7,000,000 men been killed, but an even larger number have been wounded and crippled. Not only has industry of all kinds been hindered in the most serious manner and enormous debts piled up against all the warring nations; but there has been awakened in men throughout the world the old savagery to an astonishing degree. Famine has developed to an unsurpassable extent in several countries, and there has been shown an indifference to it which has been wholly unknown before in the last century. The controllers of the food supplies have allowed millions of women and children to starve without effort to relieve them—as a war measure.

The men who have been settling the affairs of the world during the last few months are probably all of them desirous of being known as Christian and charitable men, and yet they have shown a ruthless disregard of the needs of millions of persons who have been in no sense guilty of bringing on or carrying forward the war. In the true war spirit they have punished the non-guilty with the guilty, the victims of war with those who have been its causing agents. Such ruthless contempt for all Christian principles as they have shown, in their hatreds, in their utter disregard of anything approaching a forgiving attitude, it would have been impossible to believe until we had seen it with our own eyes. Even now it is so far unbelievable that we must suppose some mitigating circumstances may be brought forward.

What conclusion must we reach? What other than that Christianity has betrayed itself body and soul! It has been both powerless to prevent war and to bring it to a conclusion in a spirit of humanitarian regard to the rights of millions of men, women and children. There remain dogma and ecclesiasticism; but the soul of them has gone away, and does not seem likely to return. Is it possible to revive what seems to be dead—the spirit of Him who taught men to love and to forgive?

George Willis Cooke.

War Aims and Secret Treaties

The following letter from Lord Loreburn to Arthur Ponsonby, sent to UNITY by David Starr Jordan, is published in the London Journal "Common Sense." It relates to a discussion of the views of the late Premier Campbell-Bannerman on the subject of war-aims and secret treaties:

My dear Ponsonby,—Your letter and enclosures recalled the memories of some twenty years ago. I cannot help thinking of C.-B. and the fight he then made for peace and common-sense. He saved many lives by shortening the war in those days, and then saved South Africa for the British Empire by reversing an infatuated policy and trying freedom in its place. I always like to remember that Lloyd George helped him then, because it leads me to hope that he may adopt a similar course again. I have my own views about what C.-B. would have said, had he been living now, and you know what they are, but speculations of that kind are unconvincing. I am now quite sure that he would have sympathised with anyone who showed himself sincere and courageous. You have my hearty sympathy on that ground, and also on another ground, viz.: that you support the wise policy identified with the name of Lord Lansdowne.

It is commonplace that those who in time of war dare to seek for a road toward peace are at the time accused of unpatriotism and sentimentalism. That was the fate of Walpole, Chatham, Burke, Fox, Cobden, Bright, Gladstone and Campbell-Bannerman. And then the time comes when it is seen how truly these men loved their country, and how wisely; and how that which was called sentimentalism had been in reality nothing but the cool foresight of humane and thoughtful men. At the present moment the frightful methods adopted by the military masters of Germany constitute one of the main hindrances to the peace which it is said their people desire. We must help our men who are fighting on sea and land in all ways we can, and one of those ways is to explore every opportunity of ending the war in an honorable manner and in loyal concert with our Allies. The sword alone will never rehabilitate Europe. If our enemies are not prepared to make peace on honorable and lasting conditions, then the discovery and proof of that fact will do more than anything else to weaken them in their own country. They make great professions, and I should like to see the sincerity of those professions brought to the test.

With all best wishes, believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

Loreburn.

News from Europe

New Definitions.

Evelyn Sharp in the London *Herald* says:

Commercial supremacy is a process whereby you demand from the enemy goods which you do not allow him to make, in order to gain time to make goods which you do not allow him to buy. The Blockade. It is known vulgarly as cutting off your nose to spite your face. More politely, it may be described as digging the enemy's grave with your own teeth, and then finding when it is too late that you have dug your own grave.

The British Censor Under the Weather.

An amusing incident in the annals of the Press Bureau is revealed by the *Sunday Times* now that the bureau is nearing its end. The story, as told by the journal, is as follows:

The incident began with the publication of an advertisement in the *Sunday Times* of July 28 last, which commenced as follows:

"A DOWNPOUR!

"Rain, rain, rain, rain, rain, rain—the rain it raineth every day—from Sunday morn to Saturday night—with just a glimmer of sunshine flicked in here and there to show there's no ill-feeling—allotment holders all happy with fine crops of carrots, onions, cabbages and peas, but L. G. O. drivers hitching their capes up to their chins and the Specials wondering why in the name of St. Swithin and all that's holy they ever took the job on. . . ."

Four days later the following letter was received from the Official Press Bureau:

"On the front page of the *Sunday Times* of July 28 there appears an advertisement headed 'A Downpour,' which constitutes a serious breach of the instructions issued to the press in regard to weather reports. We shall be glad to receive an explanation of how you came to publish this advertisement."

To this the editor replied as follows:

"Is your letter to be taken *au serieux?* We cannot understand how the advertisement in question can be regarded as being an informative statement of the weather position and therefore as a breach of the instructions on the subject. Perhaps you will lighten our darkness."

Mandarins do not like to have fun poked at them, and the Bureau promptly replied as follows:

"In reply to your letter of yesterday, our letter of the 1st August was certainly intended to be taken seriously, and we do not understand your inquiry. An advertisement which states that it has been raining from Sunday morning till Saturday night, which is headed 'A Downpour' in large letters, and which is followed by the word 'Rain' repeated seven times, is as serious a breach of the instructions issued to the press in regard to weather reports as can be imagined, and we still await your explanation."

The editor decided to await the consequences, but nothing more was heard of the matter.

Coercion in Ireland.—

We have heard a good deal lately about the Dunne-Walsh revelations as to conditions in Ireland under British military rule, and our "ascendency" press have given full publicity to the British Government's denials. The Irish correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* gives a startling example of what Messrs. Dunne and Walsh object to in the methods of repression exercised by the militarists in Dublin. He says:

The development of the Irish policy of the Government indicates that there is nothing to be expected from the present administration but measures of pure repression. They have evidently come to the conclusion to rely upon coercion, and coercion alone, for an amelioration of existing conditions. We may therefore expect an increasing stringency and a tendency to pass from merely passive and defensive measures to a system of aggressive attack wherever the established authority is challenged. Sinn Fein anticipates attempts at direct repression. That such a policy will settle the Irish problem its authors themselves can scarcely hope; that it will even improve the existing state of things and prepare the way for a constructive solution of the difficulty no one here who is familiar with the results of merely coercive plans in the past believes. Coercion might, in the words of a Liberal Viceroy, "drive discontent beneath the surface," but the conversion of an open movement into a secret society could only have mischievous effects that would continue beyond the present generation.

In obedience to the suggestion of the recent Unionist deputation, the Government delivered its first stroke against the Labor movement last week, when it suppressed the concert that was to be held on James Connolly's birthday in aid of the foundation of a Labor College in commemoration of the man whom Labor canonized as its first martyr in Ireland. The concert was organized in the name of the Dublin "Soviet" and the implied challenge will probably be offered as the reason for the suppression. Granting that the Castle was justified in the step taken, its method left something to be amended. The concert had been advertised for several weeks on the hoardings of the city, and no notice was taken of the appeal—not until late in the afternoon of Thursday last did the promoters receive any warning that the concert would be prevented. The popular evening papers heard of the prohibition only after the last edition had gone to press. The result was that large crowds, who received no warning, assembled for the concert, and the police proceeded to disperse them. Revolvers were immediately in action, and four policemen and two other persons were shot in the midst of a crowd three-fourths or four-fifths of whom did not know what was happening. It may be a way of exploding a riot; but it is hardly the way of maintaining the peace.

THE STUDY TABLE

Recent Jewish Books*

Two volumes dealing with things Jewish are at hand. In the one Dr. Philipson, a reformed Jewish leader, presents various addresses dealing with reformed Judaism. This year is the centenary of the birth of Isaac Meyer Wise, who more than any other gave weight and direction to the reform movement in this country. The first of these addresses is devoted to him and is the affectionate tribute of one who was long under the influence of that leader and perhaps, more than anyone else, takes his place and continues his work today. The three following addresses were similarly given at the centenary celebrations of three other leaders (European and American)—Holdheim, Geiger and Lilienthal. The other addresses show the development of reformed Judaism in the United States and deal with Americanism. The author is uncompromising. He will have the Jew go the limit. No separateness, no Zionism. Israel has a mission, however, and reformed Judaism, religion of an international people, is to enlighten the world. The Jews are, "as universal messengers of a universal God to sound the universal note of Israel's true place among the nations as God's covenant people, missioned by him to be the light of the nations." While Dr. Philipson in these addresses never becomes sublime, rarely eloquent, he is always earnest. The addresses as a whole are chiefly interesting as presenting what really seems an untenable position.

The other volume is, in viewpoint, quite the opposite. Friedlaender is a man of scholarship and research, but is a Jew of the Jews. He believes in Zion. His Bible is held as it reads. He repels the idea of assimilation. The Jews *are* a peculiar people; assimilation means destruction. The man is conservative, orthodox, but no stick in the mud. He believes as he does, not because of ignorance, but after deliberate examination and careful weighing. His essays have literary charm, fine though informative content. They range over a considerable field. The four upon Moses Maimonides are studies of one of the world's great thinkers, living at a great center, in a great period. Many of the essays center on the question as to what is to become of Judaism in America. Judaism has never been so much in danger in lands of persecution and in times of ignorance, as in present-day lands of tolerance and liberality. He believes, however, that Judaism will hold, even here, where the elements of dissolution are most in evidence. "American Jewry will either be the leader of Jewry or it will not be. Let it fail to respond to the great call of history—and it will unfailingly relapse into the obscurity and sluggishness of its former parochialism." Friedlaender's study of the tragic situation in which the east European Jew finds himself here, the unsettlement of his equilibrium, the radical making over that he must suffer, is masterly. Among the most interesting of his essays are those dealing with Zionism. His presentation of Dubnow's theory of Jewish nationalism, Ahad Ha'am, and the Zionist Congress are of permanent value. All in all, this series of essays is of unusual interest and attractiveness.

FREDERICK STARR.

Centenary Papers and Others. David Philipson. Cincinnati: 1919. Ark Publishing Co. 8vo, pp. 325.

Past and Present. A Collection of Jewish Essays. Israel Friedlaender. Cincinnati: 1919. Ark Publishing Co. 8vo, pp. 488.

Christian Internationalism

[2]CHRISTIAN INTERNATIONALISM, is a timely volume. Its author, Rev. William P. Merrill is well known, as minister of one of the leading Presbyterian churches of the country. He stresses the prophetic, the positive, the world-conquering character of the Christian faith. "A Christian is a man who lives on the front line and is supremely interested in what lies ahead."

This world-conquering spirit just now finds its greatest challenge in the international situation of our day.

> An army pushing its victorious advance finds one stubborn stronghold which resists; and it realizes that it must capture that one center of resistance or its advance is imperilled. So Christianity's advance to the control of the world's life halts before the great citadel of international relationships, where pagan forces are strongly intrenched; and it realizes that the whole program and hope of Christian redemption is held back, thwarted, imperilled, until that fortress is reduced.

This quotation gives the point of view of this vital book. Christianity is challenged to challenge the world to build upon the foundations which religion requires. It is an attitude which if the church had held all the while, we can but believe she would be now more loved, and more hated; but she would have done far more to give us e'er now a world of order, of beauty and of hope. The discussion is in the terms of the evangelical faith which to other types of mind lack something of the grit of originality. However, Dr. Merrill is contending for a vital church, an interpretation of religion that does something very important in the world. His study of the international trend in the thought of the Old and the New Testaments is enlightening. His argument for the need of international organization, that we may have peace, and social progress is clear and well presented.

HARRY FOSTER BURNS.

[2]*Christian Internationalism.* William P. Merrill. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50 net.

CASTLES IN SPAIN.

I build my poems with little strokes of ink
Drawn shining down white paper, line and line,
And there is nothing here which men call fine,
Nothing but hieroglyphs to make them think.
I have no broad and blowing plain to link
And loop with aqueducts, no golden mine
To crest my pillars, no bright twisted vine
Which I can train about a fountain's brink.

These others laced their poems from sea to sea
And floated navies over fields of grain;
They fretted their full over fancies in strong stone
And struck them on the sky. And yet I gain,
For bombs and bullets cannot menace me,
Who have no substance to be overthrown.
Cathedrals crash to rubbish, but my towers,
Carved in the whirling and enduring brain,
Fade, and persist, and rise again, like flowers.

Atlantic Monthly. —*Amy Lowell.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

SHALL THE RADICALS SUPPORT THE REACTIONARIES?

An unsatisfactory peace treaty, the longest and the most astounding in world history, has just been consummated and America now waits with bated breath the decision of her 96 Senators. Three widely different groups are informally combining to emasculate the Covenant of the League or to expunge it from the treaty altogether. First, is that group of partisan Senators led by Senator Knox who, if they can secure separation of the Covenant, will combine with the Borah-Reed faction and throttle the Covenant altogether, or combine with the Root followers and eliminate article 10. The second is the powerful Irish group that would have no League until Ireland achieves complete independence, and which is unable to see that with a league established their goal would be more quickly won. The third group, very small but of great moral power, consists of those conscientious radicals who hold that the treaty is so handicapped by the selfish and imperialistic influences that have fathered it, it will create what H. N. Brailsford calls "a peace of strangulation," what the British nonconformists have called "punishment without redemption."

The Labor Party of England, Bishop Gore, and a large number of churchmen and of the most thoughtful people in Great Britain, have brought such pressure to bear as to secure some modifications of the treaty. It is now less likely that the League will be long endangered by exclusion of Germany and more likely that the plebiscites and certain modifications in regard to reparation will remove some injustices. But when honest thinkers are saying that what was to have made the world safe for democracy has "now made it safe for bureaucracy," when men like Buxton, Hobson, Trevelayan and scores of the best thinkers in England say that "the treaty has no moral validity" and that they will work ceaselessly for its revision, complacent, indifferent Americans must not ignore nor minimize the fact that the treaty we are asked to ratify contains many elements of trouble and in a measure impugns the honesty and good will of its framers.

ARTICLE X.

But decision must be made and made soon. Possibilities must be balanced and risks courageously assumed. Radicals and reactionaries alike are stumbling over one technical point. Their misapprehension as to the Covenant's committing us to perpetuate the status quo vitiates much of their argument against it. They assume that the particular boundaries that exist at the time of the signing of the treaty must, according to Article X, be forever maintained. Senator Johnson tragically cries: "Are ye ready, Americans, to pledge your sons and son's sons to maintain and preserve for all time the present government of the little nations that we are setting up in Europe?" The Covenant pledges nothing of the kind. The crucial article which both Senator Lodge and the *New Republic* would eliminate says:

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

This form has been exactly retained in the revised Covenant. Dr. Kallen, author of "The League of Nations Today and Tomorrow," though a sharp critic of the terms of the treaty, believes that this article should remain unchanged. It is the backbone of the Covenant. Its whole emphasis is on ending external aggression, not internal aggression, which is revolution. Should there be revolution in Ireland, India or Mexico, the League is not pledged to interfere. The article does not oppose change of boundary line or government if that change occurs without external aggression as when we changed our boundaries in the Louisiana and Alaska purchases, or as when Sweden and Norway peaceably separated. It does not attempt anything so ridiculous as to suppress change in a growing, changing world. It simply suppresses war. The united force which in an extreme and unlikely emergency might be used would be used as a police force, not as an army of aggression or conquest.

Last month I discussed in Switzerland the question of the new boundary of the Southern Tyrol with Dr. Lammasch, one of the great international minds of the world. He pointed out certain errors made in the drawing of the treaty which is contrary to President Wilson's point 9, that "readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality." It is said that President Wilson deeply regrets this error. This is less serious than some others that are going into the treaty. But the point which honest critics must recognize is that it is too late for our Senate to rectify these errors without holding up a world that is every day becoming more depleted and exasperated. If our Senate would make righteous amendments, it might be worth while to force the world to remain still unsettled and to postpone the first meeting of the League. But few Senators are concerned with territorial adjustments. A goodly number of them want to eliminate the one feature that provides international co-operation to prevent war. Had they been concerned to hold up the President's hands when he was contending against unjust imperialistic ambitions, they might have secured a treaty that would have fulfilled his promises and his ambitions. They left him to fight alone with a vicious fire in the rear as well as at the front.

But we are not hopeless as to revisions. There is nothing to hinder any nation from bringing to the League a proposal to revise this treaty according to Article XIX which provides for reconsideration of treaties and the consideration of international conditions of which the continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

It is now the business of every nation to be its brother's keeper. One of the prime functions of the League will be the prevention of friction. The world's peace becomes every nation's business. Japan cannot with impunity refuse to return to China what it has gained by conquest unless the President's words in his treaty message as regards conquest are to be belied. With China remaining out because of the injustice done her, the whole world is bound to bring pressure on Japan. At this moment the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods has begun to teach a salutary lesson. As China grows in commercial power, her favorite weapon of the boycott will be very persuasive. Nations will learn that they cannot defy common justice when the peoples of the world once learn how to use their economic power.

The hope of humanity is in the League. Its imperfections can be remedied if the democratic forces of the world prevail. Without the League there is no prospect that these democratic forces in their present unorganized condition can save Europe from chaos and bloody revolution which might end, not in more democracy but in more militarism. The howl of rage from the Hearst papers greets our government's policy to reduce our naval program in view of the establishment of the League. This indicates the military reaction that would instantly follow the successful carrying out of the Borah policy. If the League does nothing more for the next ten years than to make plain that external aggression must end, it will have achieved much success. But it is sure to do manifold beneficent things as soon as it begins to function. When the tumult and the shouting cease, when the commissions on mandatories, labor, education, transportation and health begin to work some months hence over in Geneva, the little child born with a poor inheritance will begin to walk, nurtured and strengthened by forty-five or forty-six nations of the earth. This child that is just born is the world's hope. As Baron D'Estournelles said to me a month ago in the French Senate, depressed though he was at so much which was bitterly disillusionizing, "Who can tell, this little child may yet turn out a genius!"

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Boston, June 1, 1919.

A LONDON OPINION

Spoken March 23, 1919

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